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CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL RELATIONS

CHIEFTAINSHIP AND MEETINGS

619 National solidarity was strong among the Maricopa. This is [171] the same sentiment recorded for other Yuman tribes of western Arizona and which sets them off so markedly from Californian peoples. The Maricopa constantly referred to themselves as a single homogeneous people, all participating equally in their group life and all united against their enemies. This despite the fact that their settlements were sprawling agglomerations of households spread over a considerable area.

[643] The solidarity expressed itself in at least three ways. There was but one chief for the whole tribe so far as is known. Men of prominence might be found in the several villages but they had no formal status as chiefs. Again, there were no internecine [628] feuds. In all the long discussions with informants, there was never so much as a hint of conflict between families or villages. And [701] further, in warfare they presented a united front against their enemies, whether in attack or defense. Minor raids took place, to [726] be sure, but what stands out in their minds are the massed battles in which a large proportion of their able-bodied men took part. This attitude of the Maricopa seems to have been duplicated among the tribes now resident with the Maricopa when in their original homes on the Colorado, although here our data are so slight as to be inconclusive. But once the remnants of these [563] tribes had been incorporated in the Maricopa community, they felt themselves completely identified with their Maricopa hosts as forming one coherent whole.

643 Both Maricopa and Halchidhoma had chiefs whose position 724 was hereditary and functions vague. It proved difficult to get 787 adequate information about them. Dreamers (shamans and others) were mentioned frequently and voluntarily; specific ques-

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714 their lariats as tight as possible; for the double purpose, I suppose, of bracing their bodies, and of protecting their vital parts from arrows. Those who possessed neither [trade] shirts nor blankets, remained as nature made them, with the addition of a little paint. On their head dresses, they had all bestowed more attention than on their bodies. Some had them plastered with clay, so as to resemble huge turbans. Others had decorated the great club of hair which hung down their backs with bits of scarlet cloth, but more of them with the richly-figured sashes or belts of their own manufacture. Some again wore their hair in braids tastefully wound around their heads, intermingled with pieces of scarlet cloth; while a few, less particular as to their appearance, wore it clubbed up in a huge mass."[11]

701 War parties comprised relatively large bodies of men, at least against the Yuma, although fewer may have participated against the Yavapai. Kutox persistently mentioned two hundred as the number in a party: while this need not be taken literally, it does indicate the order of their numbers. This is in striking contrast [174] to the handful of raiders which the mountain tribes of Arizona mustered at any one time, and indicates clearly that warfare was a national affair of the sort carried on by the lower Colorado tribes. The contrast with the mountain tribes is not one of rela- [161] tive populations because the Maricopa were not very numerous in the second quarter of the last century, the period to which our data relate.

The organization of the parties was simple. There was a battle leader, one or two individuals who bore feathered pikes (the "battle standards" of the Yuma), several champions, and shamans who used their clairvoyant abilities to seek out the enemy and who tended the wounded. All these men had their functions [787] by reason of special powers they had dreamed. Not one of them was more than a leader: they were not officers to issue orders. It seems reasonably clear that the tribal chief was not ordinarily war leader. Yet one at least among those is known to tradition as a warrior (p. 157).

701 There was but one battle leader at a time among the Maricopa. 787 He was the only man who had the requisite dreams of war, and when he died, another dreamed in his stead. The dreams dwelt on surmounting dangers and killing the enemy. In his dreams he saw clouds of little flies (called kumanyihwi') fighting in the air,

[11] *Personal Narrative*, II, 216.

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and by their actions he learned how to make successful issue of the battle. He dreamed only that he would be successful. His personal preparation was like that of all shamans: a series of dreams in which the spirits initiated him in the mysteries of his art until they were satisfied that he was fully prepared. There is a cactus more thorny than cholla, called ʰxu'l. He dreamed he saw these fighting in the form of humans. When they saw he was fitted for his position, these spirits took him into a large cave, the hollow interior of a mountain located in the enemy country. As he entered he saw a club, a shield, and a pike hanging on the wall. Each time he was taken there, they gave him the opportunity to learn the use of one of these until he was proficient with all. Then he was ready to lead in battle. His song first described the morning star (xomâce' kovâtai'ʰ, "big star"), which in some undefined way is connected with war. Just what was his function in battle was not ascertained. The last of such leaders among the Maricopa was named ka'kaiθo'.

The bearer of the feathered pike was a functionary known alike to Maricopa and Halchidhoma, and was represented among other lower Colorado tribes. He assumed no-flight obligations which placed him in the forefront of battle and in that sense was a war leader. But while Forde describes the pike of the Yuma as a battle standard sometimes planted in the ground and about which the forces rallied,[12] my informants explicitly and repeatedly denied this function among the Gila River tribes. The pike was carried by a man selected as the best warrior; quite infrequently two men had them. He used it as his weapon, supplemented by a club, and carried no shield. He was not the war captain, nor a dreamer. Carrying it entailed what was practically a no-flight obligation: the bearer must go always forward, never retreat. He was credited with fearlessness: even though his companions retreated, he rushed forward into the enemy's midst, to seize them by the hair and club them to death. Black paint covered his body and was drawn in a band across his eyes. His bangs were daubed red. At his death the pike was destroyed with the remainder of his personal possessions.

[12] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, pp. 167, 265.

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with the remainder of his personal belongings. Whether his position was transmitted was not disclosed.

This pike was a mesquite shaft, pointed at one or both ends, encircled at intervals by bands of red and black paint, and bearing pendent feathers. Kutox gave contradictory evidence regarding details: he stated that it was in length the height of its bearer, again that it was four to five feet long; that it was pointed at one end, again at both. A specimen which he had made for me (Pl. XIII, *a*)[13] is pointed at one end only and is forty-three inches in length. Another specimen made by Charlie Redbird is pointed at one end alone. The feathers were the largest plumes of buzzard and eagle, each bound individually to the shaft, leaving a space free for a hand grip at the middle. Halchidhoma and Maricopa made such pikes identically and alike called them hukwill'c.

Armament consisted of bows, short wooden clubs, and circular shields. Rarely a man might arm himself with a wooden pike. A warrior carried either bow, or club and shield; never both. Clubmen and bowmen went into battle as separate divisions; the clubmen always grouped to march in front, the bowmen following.[14] Each of these companies was said to have had its leader, presumably a spontaneous leader, since the absence of any special designation for them argues against formality of their status.

WAR DANCE AND SPEECHES

The night before setting out for war there was always a war dance (hupi'l,ig). Everyone participated: women, old and young, as well as the warriors who would comprise the party. Songs of all kinds were sung, "because they might lose some of their men and this would be the last time they would ever hear these songs." These followed one another through the night. Toward morning, when the dances were over, everybody left. Meanwhile some women had prepared provisions for the war party. This consisted principally of ground parched wheat.

[13] Washington State Museum, No. 2-11918.

[14] This division aligns with Pima and Havasupai habit. But at least clubmen were not paired with bowmen in the manner of the Havasupai (Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, p. 250; Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 120, 202).

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told the inmates to get their bows. But the old men only sang the louder with each warning until they could be heard at a great distance. 173

The singing brought the Mohave crowding around the house. They did not enter but broke holes in the walls to shoot through and crowded about the doorway to shoot in. Finally those inside—there were about one hundred—said, "It is not right for us to be burned in the house. Let us go out to fight like men." They called to the Mohave to clear away from the entrance. They painted their hair red and drew a black band across the eyes. They came out three abreast, moved forward a little so that three more could follow, and so on. They fought for a while but were all killed. 726

The Mohave cut off the heads of every one and carried them to the village, where they camped. They scalped the heads. They built a big fire in a hole, and when it had burned to coals, placed the heads around the fire, as one bakes pumpkins, as an insult. They warmed them on each side, raked away the coals, and baked the heads on the ground like pumpkins.

Raids against the Yavapai and their Apache neighbors may have been undertaken by large bodies of men but it is quite unlikely that they mustered for this purpose anything like the number who set out against the Yuma. Still the indications are that their number was frequently considerable, certainly more than the Yavapai were accustomed to send against them. The reason is obvious enough: a handful of Yavapai marauders were sufficient to pick off the more or less concentrated and settled Maricopa, where a far larger number was required for any effective campaign against these scattered, migratory mountain dwellers. Punitive expeditions into the mountains must have been far more infrequent than Yavapai attacks. 721

In this type of warfare the methods resembled those of the Yavapai themselves; a secret concentration near the enemy, a surprise attack, and an immediate return. The impression is that bows were used far more than in battles with the river Yumans. Battle formation was described as a line of bowmen, who were nevertheless close to the enemy for the reason that the arrows neither carried far nor were especially effective. Dependence was still on the short club. It seems probable that there was again something of a division of function, bowmen separate from clubmen; at least it was said several clubmen would proceed together. Half the party was said to have been mounted in these engagements. 726 [411] [701]